BEGĀR (FORCED LABOUR) IN KASHMIR DURING THE DOGRA PERIOD (1846-1947 A. D.)

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The founding of the Dogra Raj in Kashmir, in 1846,brought with it a number of policies and practices that proved detrimental to the interests of the masses, in general, and the producing class, in particular. Apart from a regressive taxation policy, *begār* or forced-cum-unpaid labour was one of the most notorious systems of oppression that the Dogra rulers imposed on Kashmiris. Although, it was not an innovation of the 19th century Kashmir, its institutionalization as an integral part of administrative and economic structure was certainly unprecedented. The roots of *begār* in Kashmir can be traced a far back as the Ancient period during which Hindu kings ruled over it. It remained in vogue throughout the Sultanate, the Mughal, the Afghan, and the Sikh periods down to the Dogra period.

In Kashmir *begār* existed in many forms. The most conspicuous form of itwas the Gilgit *begār*, named so because the peasants were used as porters[1] for carrying goods and supplies for the Kashmir troops stationed in Gilgit – the harsh mountainous outpost to the north of Kashmir at a distance of about 300 miles from Srinagar. In the absence of any *pucca* road leading there, and an inadequate transport system, peasants particularly from the countryside were pressed into service for transportation of supplies. Without any provision for remuneration, all that they were provided with was a *seer* of rice per day, enough to keep body and together, and the straw for making their straw shoes.[2] Every year thousands of coolies would be impressed for the carriage of loads to Gilgit, of whom very few returned to their homes with the result that 'Gilgit' had become almost synonymous wrath 'terror'.[3] Besides the fact that the peasants were forced to do this labourers now convened task, and were paid no wages at all, what made the journey worse were the passages leading through narrow passes and mountains that often exposed the coolies to frost-bite and sickness; starvation and cholera were not uncommon.[4] As a result, most of the coolies would perish *enroute* to Gilgit or on their way back home. Unburied corpses on the Giljit road was a common right.[5] The third Dogra ruler, Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925), while on an inspection tour to Gilgit in 1893, himself saw skulls and bones of men scattered at a spot.[6] Some coolies 'were sold as slaves to the wild inhabitants of that inhospitable region'.[7]

Throughout the 2nd half of the 19th century the State resorted to arbitrary exaction of labour for military activities in the frontier areas. Now and then, during the whole career of the first two Maharajas who (ruled during 1846-1858 and 1858-1885), and the early part of Maharaja Pratap Singh's reign, the frontier tribes of Gilgit, Nagar, Hunza, Yasin, Ladakh, and Tibet would create trouble on the frontier. To suppress their rebellious activities the State would mobilize its army and this meant restlessness for the masses too.[8]For instance, in 1853, 1866 and 1880 large army movements were made, and thousands of *begār* coolies were pressed into service as the human carriage of loads.[9] In 1853 alone, 2000 peasants carrying eight *traks* of grain each served induced as *begār* coolies in the Gilgit campaign.[10] According to Arthur Neve, a Medical Missionary who visited the valley during the early 20th century, about 5000 porters were forced to accompany two armed regiments mobilized to fight the frontier tribes.[11] In such cases, the porters were used not only for carrying food articles but ammunition as well.[12]

Besides the Gilgit *begār*, the employing of peasants in porterage was a 'normal' practice when it came to the annual move of State employees to Jammu at the outset of the winter season, and back to Srinagar after winter was over.[13] The European travellers as well as British Officials visiting Kashmir also resorted to forced labour for carrying their luggage, with the marked difference that it was forced but not unpaid;[14] for every stage, of a few miles, 4 *ānnas* were fixed as their wages.[15] However, even these unfortunate coolies had to part with half of their earnings.[16]*Begār* was usually employed in fields, most notably in the collection of saffron.[17]At times the peasants, who were supposed to be working in their fields, were taken forcibly for cutting and transporting wood.[18]We also hear of*begārīs*being used for carrying telegraph posts and letters.[19]

While this State-sponsored practice was at its peak during the period under study, the oppressions on the part of the officials were widespread. Besides the levying of cesses over and above the legitimate share of the State,[20] the officials maintained other forms of forced labour as well. They conceived *begār*as a token to demand from the poor classes, labour or property of any kind without the necessity of paying them.[21] More often than not, we hear of buildings being constructed, and wastelands cultivated through the unpaid labour of the villagers.[22] Thus, while the most visible form of*begār* was the use of peasants as labourers and porters, it included fiscal extortion also.

II

Begār cannot be said to have been uniformly applied throughout the State. Several sections of the society enjoyed exemption from it. As a

rule, the whole Hindu population stood exempted.[23]This was partly because of the fact that Pandits were learned men and occupied key positions in the administrative machinery, and partly because of the religious bias of the Maharajas. It could be argued that the first reason was enough to make the Pandits immune to *begār*, but the fact that even Sikhs, in general, were also granted immunity from the forced labour makes the picture clear. Religious clergy, whether Hindus or Muslims, were also not required to serve the State through forced labour.[24] Being held in veneration by the State and the people, they could not be expected to be subjected to such a practice. In fact, they were provided with land grants, and the cultivators of such granted lands also enjoyed exemption from *begār*.[25] Other lands that were exempted were the wastelands[26] recently brought under cultivation, and the lands granted to influential persons as *jāgirs*. This category of lands enjoyed immunity solely on the basis of the expectation of the State that cultivation would be improved and production enhanced, thereby increasing the revenue of the State.[27] The city people, thanks to the considerable Pandit population and skilled labourers, also enjoyed immunity. However, very often this rule of exemption was infringed as there are many references which show that even the shawl-weavers, who formed a large section of the city population, and other artisans, were not spared.[28]

This policy of exemption of certain sections of the society meant that the burden of forced labour fell on the shoulders of some particular category of people. And this was exactly the case. The exemption of *chakdārs'* lands, *jāgirs*, and *Dharmārath* lands implies that the burden of the *begār* fell on the Muslim cultivators of the *Khālsa*lands. For, no coolies could be procured from these protected villages.[29] Thus, out of a total population of 814,241 (according to the census of 1891), 414,241 persons were actually liable to *begār*.[30]

III

Needless to say, the practice of *begār* brought devastating effects on the rural economic and social structure of the valley. The state, while imposing *begār* sought to minimize its expenses on things such as transportation or construction of buildings and roads, etc. But oddly it neglected the fact that the denial of basic rights, and an insecure life would lead to fatalism among the peasants, not to speak of their unwillingness in improving the crop production. The incidence of *begār* and the punishment meted out to the peasants on refusal to oblige[31]was enough to degrade their morale. It reminded them of their 'status' as being no more than slaves.

Begār was usually resorted to during summer months especially at a time when the cultivators were supposed to sow seeds,[32] and at the end of the autumn season when crops were supposed to be harvested. The absence of peasants from their homes on such crucial occasions was naturally bound to have adverse effects on the crop production, not to speak of the misery of the peasants and their families.It is not surprising, therefore, that the condition of the villages which enjoyed exemption from *begār* was fairly better than the *khālsa*villages.[33] Besides this, the provision of forced labour was responsible for undoing the very purpose of bringing wastelands under cultivation. The wastelands granted to *chakdārs* were exempted from *begār*, and they never found difficulty in obtaining farm labourers from the *khālsa*lands,[34] simply because the peasants would like to live a life of bare subsistence rather than being forced to free labour. This enticing away of cultivators from *khālsa* lands to the *chak* lands implied a reduction in the revenue of the state but surprisingly the state kept on ignoring this fact.

One of the terrible consequences of this inhuman practice was that villages and their inhabitants were turned into 'commodities' who could be sold and purchased, without any reservations, for petty amounts of money. The horrors of *begār* were such that whole villages would prefer to be purchased to escape from it since the sold-out villages were exempt from *begār*. In 1888, according to Lawrence, 'three villages were sold to a Pandit, an ex-Governor, for sums ranging between Rs. 50 and 63... A fourth village was sold to a Hindu held in veneration as an ascetic. He gave Rs. 50 for a very fine village. The fifth village [being very large and wealthy] was bought by a *Tehsīldār* for Rs.300 Chilki.'[35] Such sale of lands to non-cultivating classes gave rise to absentee landlordism which, in turn, led to some inevitable consequences like fragmentation of holdings, the extension of social exploitation, and the absence of full utilization of cultivated land.[36]

The method of collecting coolies for *begār* usually left enough room for the corrupt officials to gain good material benefits for themselves. Apart from the perquisites extracted from the wretched masses, they usually made fortunes by magnifying the demand of coolies required by the State. For example, 'if 500 coolies were required, the *tehsildār*would double the number, and the village officials would quadruple it. Thus, a village which ought to supply perhaps five coolies was asked for twenty. Fifteen men, thus, had to buy themselves off.'[37]

Another significant consequence of the *begār* was the migration of people to *begār*-free villages or towns and the city, plus the depopulation of villages. There are many references which throw light

on such phenomenon. For instance, Pratap Singh on his tour to Gilgit found a whole village deserted, the reason being the location of the village close to the Gilgit road, and the regular forcing of its inhabitants into unpaid labour.[38] E. F. Knight on his visit to Gilgit, could not find, in a village of Dardistan, a single coolie to carry his luggage as all the villagers, children included, had been seized for *begār* on the Gilgit road.[39] The villagers often migrated to the city which is testified by the fact that the number of houses in Srinagar increased rapidly from 20,304 in 1868 to 22,448 in 1891. The famine of 1877-79 particularly induced the people from rural areas to migrate to the city in order to escape from forced labour and to obtain cheap food.[40]Sometimes the peasants and artisans used to hide in mountains to escape from *begār*, with the result that the work in fields and the construction work entrusted to artisans would come to a halt.[41]

Although there was no formal ban on the migrations of people, the State and its officials usually discouraged the practice. The flight of men from villages often put the revenue of the villages in arrears.As a matter of fact, the revenue was, as a rule, so high that the loss of one or two revenue payers was enough to ruin a village.[42]An occurrence which indicates the attitude of the State towards the migrations may be cited here. During late 1870s, when Kashmir was under the grip of a great famine, the inhabitants of about 15 villages of *Kamrāj* division left their homes *en masse*, but the *Wazīr* of *Kamrāj* sent horsemen after them with orders to bring them back.[43]However, large groups of people often succeeded to migrate beyond the boundaries of the State, especially to Punjab.[44]Even so, such an option was available to persons with good health and strength; the difficult mountainous terrain and highly-guarded outlets often defeated the attempts of the escapees. These migrations often took place due to the inability of the State to provide food to the starving masses, and its insistence on *begār* even during the time of famines.

IV

From what I have discussed above, it would be clear that the Dogras' state imposed *begār*not as an exception, but as a rule. The early writers on the history of Kashmir, as also the Government reports, often credited Mahārāja Gulab Singh for 'rationalizing' *begār*,[45] not taking into account the fact that this dreaded practice continued during the period of his successors and that too in all its vigor. The fact is that this practice of seizing the peasants and inducing them into forced labour was in full swing, at least up till the close of the 19th century.[46] However, it seems that the construction of the Gilgit road and the Jhelum Valley cart road during 1890s brought a bit of relief to the *begārīs*.[47] Some of the other

reforms, aimed at providing respite to the masses, may be summarized as follows: Wingate, in his Preliminary Report recommended that a fixed number of men be supplied from each village whenever the need arises.[48] Maharaja Pratap Singh ordered that the wages of 4 *ānnas* for every working day and 2 *ānnas* for every halt be fixed when engaging peasants as coolies for carrying luggage.[49] This was for the first time that the *begārīs* were supposed to be paid any wages at all. Another important reform was the use of ponies to replace men being used as carriages of loads.[50]

However, it is not certain whether such reforms were made functional or not, for the corrupt and unscrupulous officials hardly left any room for their implementation. Thus, the order by the Government that ponies be used instead of peasants did not meet with much success. The officials actually levied illegal taxes on the pony-owners which tended to discourage pony traffic. Surprisingly, the Maharaja did not abolish this illegal tax on the spot but directed his Revenue Member to submit a report as to what the annual income from this tax was, and whether the tax could well be remitted or not.[51] The administrative reforms report of 1893 recommended the charging of *begār* cess on the peasantry from which the transportation expenses were to be paid.[52] But the instances of unpaid *begār* even during the subsequent period make doubtful whether such a move could have succeeded in ameliorating the condition of the peasantry.

V

In connection with *begār*, it would be unfair not to discuss the role played by the colonial state, which was responsible for the creation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and to which the Dogra state owed its existence. It becomes all the more important when we consider the fact that the perpetuation of the Dogra rule in Kashmir was inextricably linked to the continued existence of colonial structures in India. Paradoxically, the first people to highlight and lament the oppressive policies of the Dogra state machinery, *begār* included, were the British[53] – the very people who for their own, colonial interests pushed Kashmiris into misery. But this they did after 'allowing' a considerable maladministration in the state, and then appeared as 'saviours' of the people. In that sense, the colonial policy towards Kashmir was not something unique but a carefully planned and widely-applied strategy.

Although it is true that the British intervention, especially after the appointment of a permanent Resident in Kashmir in 1885, ushered in an era of reforms and restoration of certain land rights to the cultivating classes, crediting the colonial masters for 'abolishing' the practice of *begār* is totally uncalled for.[54] As would be apparent in the

passages that follow, the British adopted a two-pronged policy regarding its abolition. On the one hand, they repeatedly pressed the incumbent Maharajas to eradicate the much-hated practice, and on the other hand, were actively involved in perpetuating it. Thus, we see the European visitors and officials like Mrs. Hervey and E. F. Knight, while talking about *begār* in a disapproving tone, actually taking full advantage of it.[55]Knight did not see any hardship in 'properly conducted and legitimate forced labour'. Contrarily, he called it 'a just and useful institution, not unknown in Europe'[56] and, in fact, recommended the 'indispensability' of conducting it in a 'modified' form.[57]

The British were very well aware of the 'exigency' of the institution of *begār*, and never –at least not before the first quarter of 20th century – actually wanted to abolish it.[58]In his Preliminary Report on the Settlement Operations in Kashmir, Wingate recommended that a fixed number of coolies be requisitioned from each village but at the same time wrote about the 'compulsion' of perpetuating the practice of *begār* for the Gilgit-expedition-transport system.[59] Lawrence boasted of the removal of its 'more serious evils' by virtue of his recommendations in the report of the settlement operations that he carried out.[60]But he was also skeptic about its complete abolition.[61]However, Mr. R. Logan, who was entrusted with the task of examining the financial conditions of the State in 1891-92, clearly exposed the British policy when he wrote:[62]

> 'We are to aim at correction of abuses, but *not with the abolition of Begar altogether*. That will be impossible for many a long day; but when public attention is directed to this question as it will be, the demand will probably be for abolition of begar for immediate transition of the Kashmiri villager from the condition of '*status*' *to a condition of free contract*, which is an impossible thing to achieve, and would be a *disastrous thing to try*.'

The system of forced labour worked well in the backdrop of Dogras' assertion of "ownership" over Kashmir and its inhabitants, which conferred a status of slaves on the subjects of the state, thus justifying the use of peasants at any time and in any manner the State wanted to. This assertion went hand in hand with the British stereotyping of Kashmiris as 'lazy Orientals'[63] and being devoid of the sense of 'combin[ing] for the common good unless compelled'.[64]Within such discourses, *begār* seems to have been recognized as a tool to make the 'inherently lazy people' work.

The practice of *begār* continued to be implemented during the 20th century. In the absence of any authentic sources, it is difficult to ascertain when and how it was actually abolished. True that the State Council approved of its abolition in 1920[65] but the order was no more

than a 'dead letter'. Thus, the contention of several writers that officially its complete abolition took place in 1920[66] holds no ground because there is ample evidence to show that it did exist even after that. The question asked may be, if it was officially abolished in 1920, why did the Dogra Sabha need to pass a resolution in 1924 demanding its abolition?[67] The official class was still adamant on maintaining forced labour in certain areas. The official perception was that the suggestions drafted in the Resolution, if implemented, could be expected to replace the *begār* system in 15 years.[68]

That the practice was not eradicated at this juncture is again proved by the memorandums submitted by Muslim representatives to the Maharaja in 1922,[69] and to Lord Reading during his visit to Kashmir in 1924[70] in which the complete abolition of *begār* figured prominently. As late as 1932, the Glancy Commission report noted that "in many cases officials...employ villagers to carry their baggage free of charge over long distances and indent on villagers for other services without remuneration",[71] and it clearly depicts the (non-)applicability of the State's orders at the practical level. Most of the recommendations of the commission were put into practice, but it is not sure whether the abolition of *begār* became operational or not. In fact, as a writer claims – on the authority of some persons who had lived through the practice of *begār,* and whom he interviewed – till 1947, it was obligatory upon the villagers to construct and repair the canals and embankments without any wages being paid to them.[72] Thus, regarding the complete abolition of *begār* one assertion can certainly be made – that this inhuman practice became non-existent in the post-1947 period after the establishment of a Representative Government,[73] and the adoption of some of the basic tenets of the 'Naya Kashmir' plan.[74]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. In the 19th century Kashmir, we do not find a professional labour class primarily due to the abundance of land which provided ample opportunities to the people to opt for agricultural practices rather than doing menial work.
2. Robert Thorpe, *Cashmere Misgovernment*, Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1870, p. 45; C. E. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, London, 1922, pp. 236-7.
3. How dreaded the Gilgit *begar* was is evident from several heart-rending tales. As witnessed by E. F. Knight, "When a man is seized for this form of begar, his wives and children hang upon him, weeping, taking it almost for granted that they will never see him again"; E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, London, 1893, p. 67; See also, Arthur Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, London, 1913; Tyndale Biscoe, pp. 237-38.
4. Robert Thorpe, p. 45; Tyndale Biscoe, pp. 237-38.

5. Walter R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, London, 1891, p. 413 (fn.).
6. Maharaja Pratap Singh, *Diary of an Inspection Tour to the Gilgit Road*, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1893, p. 11.
7. Tyndale Biscoe, p. 236.
8. *Annual Administrative Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State for the Samvat 1996-97 (17th Oct 1939-15th Oct 1940)*, The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1941, p 21-23.
9. Robert Thorpe, p. 44;D. N. Dhar, *Kashmir –The Land and its Management; from Ancient to Modern Times*, New Delhi, 2004, p. 111.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Arthur Neve, pp. 139-40; Tyndale Biscoe, p. 237.
12. On one occasion, about three to four hundred Muslims offering prayers in a mosque of the city were seized by Gulab Singh's officials and they were forced to carry ammunitions. M. Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar (1846-1947)*, Srinagar, 3rd ed., 2007, Appendix A.
13. *Financial and other Administrative Reforms in the Kashmir State*, File Nos. 112-125, May 1893, Foreign Deptt., Secret-E, National Archives of India (NAI).
14. Mrs. Hervey, *The Adventures of a Lady in Tartary, Thibet, China and Kashmir*, 3 Vols., Vol. 1, London, 1853, p. 229; *E. F. Knight*, p. 5.
15. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 413.
16. Francis Young husband, *Kashmir*, London, 1911, p. 179
17. Ishaq Khan, Appendix-A.
18. Diary of Pundit Khunya Lal, *Lahore Political Diaries*, Vol. VI, p. 260, quoted in *Ishaq Khan*, p. 61.
19. Pratap Singh, *Diary*, p. 12 and 26.
20. For instance, in 1883, Lawrence calculated the perks extracted from an average village thus:- Legitimate revenue = Rs. 1,332 & 6 *ānnas*; Taxes permitted by the State for officials = Rs. 293 & 14 *ānnas*; Cesses levied by officials [on their own] = Rs. 270. This implies that the officials took almost double the amount they were entitled to. Lawrence, *Valley*, pp. 415-17.
21. The things which the villagers were not paid for included, but not limited to, wood, grass, milk, poultry and grain, blankets and an occasional pony, cows and sheep. *ibid.*, p. 411 & 414.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Note by Lawrence on 'Position of Cultivating Classes in Kashmir', 1890, File Nos. 106-110, Foreign Deptt., Secret-E, NAI; Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 412.
24. *Ibid.* These included Pandits, Sayyids and Pirzadas.
25. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 412.
26. These were known as *Chak*lands, and the assignee was known as *Chakdār*.
27. Gulab Singh initiated the process of granting of wastelands because he was not content with the extent of cultivation and the revenue of the State. In the following decades large tracts of wastelands were brought under cultivation. As an incentive, the State's share in these lands was lower than in other lands, D. N. Dhar, *Kashmir – The Land and its Management*, p. 87.

28. E. F. Knight, p. 68; Robert Thorpe, p. 44.
29. A. Wingate, *Preliminary Report on Land Settlement in Kashmir and Jammu*, Lahore, 1889, p. 37.
30. About half of the population lived in lands which were, by rule, exempted from *begār*. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 412.
31. The peasants who refused to be seized for *begār* were often subjected to inhuman treatment. In one such incident, a peasant's whiskers were cut off by a Dogra soldier. On other occasions, the people were beaten mercilessly. See, Walter R. Lawrence, *The India We Served*, London, 1928, p. 130-31; Ishaq Khan, Appendix-A.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 325; *E.* F. Knight, p. 68.
33. Note on 'Position of Cultivating Classes', p. 1; Wingate, *Preliminary Report*.
34. Note on 'Position of Cultivating Classes', p. 1.
35. *Ibid.*;E. F. Knight, p. 68.
36. Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, *On the Way to Golden Harvests – Agricultural Reforms in Kashmir*, Jammu, 1951, p. 50.
37. Wingate, pp. 37-38. E. F. Knight also cites a similar incident in which he says that once when a dozen carpenters were required for government work in a distant region, every carpenter in Srinagar was impressed by the police, and had to pay for his liberty. E. F. Knight, p. 68. Lawrence witnessed Rs. 70 to 90 being paid per head by villagers for obtaining one-time exemption. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 413.
38. Pratap Singh. *Diary*, p. 13.
39. E. F. Knight, p. 255.
40. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 225.
41. *Ibid.*,p. 413; E. F. Knight, p. 68.
42. Note on 'Position of Cultivating Classes'.
43. 'Notes by Mr. Henvey on the famine in Kashmir' (Dec. 1879), Demi-Official Letter from F. Henvey to A. C. Lyall, 5th Dec. 1879, Foreign Deptt., Secret-E, March 1883, Nos. 83-85, NAI.
44 Administrative Reports from Punjab, Nos. 63-69,Sept. 1879, Foreign Deptt., K. W. Pol. A., p. 2, NAI.
45. Bamzai, for instance, following the fashion set in by K. M. Panikkar, argues that Gulab Singh fixed a certain number of men to be requisitioned from each village, and that every coolie thus requisitioned was paid one *kharwār* of rice per month as wages plus free rations. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, Metropolitan Book Co. Ltd.,Delhi, 1962, p. 606. *Annual Administrative Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State for the Samvat 1996-97 (17th Oct 1939-15th Oct 1940)*, The Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1941, p 21.
46. Maharaja Pratap Singh himself admitted the prevalence of forced labour, usually unpaid, during his reign. Pratap Singh, *Diary*, p. 9, 23.
47. 'Article in "*Pioneer*" (5th Nov 1890) regarding the system of "begar", File Nos. 152-158, Dec 1890, Foreign Deptt., Secret-E, NAI. *Administrative Report*, 1941, p. 25.
48. Wingate, *Preliminary Report*, p. 37-8.
49. Pratap Singh, *Diary*, p. 23.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 7; 'Article in Pioneer'.

51. Pratap Singh, *Diary*, p. 8.
52. 'Financial and other Administrative Reforms', 1893.
53. Among others, mention may be made of Robert Thorpe, William Digby, and Francis Younghusband.
54. See, M. Ishaq Khan, 'Some Aspects of Corvee (begar) in Kashmir, (A. D. 833-1858)', *Jammu and Kashmir Research Biannual*, Vol. 1, No. II, Srinagar, 1976, pp. 58-71; Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 606.
55. Mrs. Hervey, *The Adventures of a Lady in Tartary, Thibet, China and Kashmir*, 3 Vols., Vol. 1, London, 1853, p. 229; E. F. Knight, pp. 67-68, 250-55.
56. E. F. Knight, p. 66.
57. *Ibid.*,p. 68.
58. They had fully realized its importance with regard to Gilgit. The Gilgit Agency, which constituted the British officials and soldiers, besides the Maharaja's troops, was the key-factor leading to the Giglit*begār*. 'Article in *Pioneer*'.
59. A. Wingate, *Preliminary Report*, pp. 37-8.
60. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 451.
61. Lawrence to State Council, 18th Sep. 1892, File No. 164, J&K State Archives (JKA).
62. *Report of Mr. Logan on the Financial Conditions of the Kashmir State*, File no. 513-E, 17th Nov., 1892, Foreign Deptt., Secret-E, NAI.Emphasis mine.
63. Mrs. Hervey, p. 229 (fn.).
64. E. F. Knight, p. 66.
65. File No. C-57, 1920, Old English Records, JKA.
66. See for example, Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, p. 606.
67. 'Resolution passed by the Dogra Sabha regarding Abolition of Begar', File Nos. 97/63-G, 1924, JKA. Dogra Sabha was a loyalist secular party consisting of middle and upper middle class Muslim and non-Muslim members, and its chief aim was to bring social reform among the people.
68. 'It is to be remembered by them [the Dogra Sabha] that there are some ilaqas in the State where, if as desired by His Higness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur, the impressment of labour is stopped by order, people will not come forward either for love or money and the state of administration can be better imagined than described. *ibid.*
69. 'Representation of the President Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, Srinagar, regarding the Backward Condition of Muslims of Kashmir', File No. 1609/G-84. 1923, General Deptt., JKA.
70. Memorandum submitted to the Viceroy, Lord Reading, by Prominent Muslims of Kashmir, 1924.
71. Orders on the Recommendations contained in the Glancy Commission's Report, Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1932, p. 39.
72. M. Y. Ganaie, *Kashmir's Struggle for Independence (1931-1939)*, Srinagar, 2003.
73. Mirza M. Afzal Beg, *On the Way to Golden Harvests*, pp. 15-17.
74. Among other pro-peasant doctrines, the 'Naya Kashmir' Manifesto adopted 'right to equal pay for equal work' as an important feature. See, Manzoor A. Fazili, *Socialist Ideas and Movements in Kashmir (1919-1947)*, New Delhi, p. 127.